

30 October 1967

MEMORANDUM FOR: The 303 Committee

SUBJECT : Political, Propaganda and Intelligence Activity
Directed Against Soviet Ukrainian

1. SUMMARY: CIA has supported the Ukrainian organiza-
tion Prolog and its antecedents since 1950. Since the
organization is American based, under the Katzenbach guidelines
it must be reorganized if CIA's relationship to it is to
continue. CIA proposes to move the publishing activities and
funding and the official headquarters to Europe and to use
the Prolog personnel remaining in the U.S. for contact opera-
tions with Soviets and to oversee the European activities.
This informal supervision from the U.S. will result from the
continued residence here of the head of the organization whose
actual leadership will be recognized and accepted by all
members of the organization regardless of the formal arrange-
ments to be made by the reorganization. Prolog's endeavors
remain a significant contribution to U.S. national interests
because of the influence Prolog has had among Soviet Ukrainians,
the importance of information produced through operations
involving Prolog and its personnel, and the opportunities for
contact with Soviet citizens that it provides. In FY 1968 CIA
support will amount to \$2, available in the CIA budget.
The project, including the proposed changes, has been reviewed

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with and concurred in by Mr. Walter Stoessel, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs.

2. PROBLEM: Over the past seventeen years, Prolog has been the vehicle for CIA's operations directed at the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and forty million Ukrainians. The Katzenbach guidelines require that Prolog no longer publish, be funded, or be organizationally based in the U.S.

3. FACTORS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM:

a. Identification and History of Prolog. Prolog Research and Publishing Assoc., Inc., located in New York, was established to conduct the clandestine activities of the ZP/UHVR (the Foreign Representation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council). The ZP/UHVR is a small, tightly knit group sent from the Ukraine in August 1944 by the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council to make contact with Western intelligence representatives and to act in behalf of the homeland. In 1948 CIA surveyed the Ukrainian emigre organizations to select the most reliable and operationally experienced for use in supporting the then active internal Ukrainian resistance movement. By 1953 anti-Soviet propaganda activities began to be conducted from New York by a panel of the ZP/UHVR that was able to utilize the services of numerous other Ukrainian emigres in many countries who were members or, more commonly, sympathizers of the ZP/UHVR. With a number of reliable contacts established in Germany and Poland, Prolog began sending propaganda materials

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to Poland and by the end of 1957 a considerable number of books, newspapers, and other materials including its own publications had been relayed to the target area by the Ukrainian contacts in Poland. Other publications, primarily scholarly Ukrainian works banned in the Soviet Ukraine, were sent to Polish universities and libraries where they could be read by visiting Soviet Ukrainian scholars and students. By 1959 substantially greater amounts of anti-Soviet literature were placed directly in the hands of traveling Soviet citizens. Responses, even from Soviet Ukrainian officials of high rank, have been favorable. Soviet Ukrainian cultural officials have recognized the effectiveness of Prolog activities by trying to court and influence many Prolog collaborators rather than simply denouncing them.

b. Value to the U.S. Government. In addition to the positive intelligence gathered as a result of Prolog's contacts with Soviet citizens in the U.S. and abroad, biographical information on Soviets of interest has been made available and many members of the KGB have been identified. These contacts continue to produce important operational leads for CIA and FBI and should be kept alive for both foreign intelligence and counterintelligence reasons. Nationalist flare-ups during the past several years in widely scattered areas of the Soviet Union, and particularly in the Ukraine, give evidence that the complete cohesion of the Soviet peoples

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toward which the Soviet leadership has striven is far from accomplished. Recent attacks on Ukrainian writers as being nationalist deviationists tend to confirm these trends. Over sixty writers and intellectuals in the Ukraine have been arrested in the past two years. Were it not for Prolog's efforts, little would have been known of these arrests in the West. The importance of Prolog to the U.S. Government is that it represents a channel of political and cultural influence from the Ukrainian emigration of several million strong all over the world to the Ukrainians in the UkSSR.

c. Prolog's Publications. Suchasnist (The Present), a Ukrainian-language journal, is designed to appeal to Ukrainian intellectuals both in the Soviet Union and in the West. It seeks to encourage national-cultural identity among Soviet Ukrainians and intellectual liberalization within the USSR. This is ZP/UHVR's chief publication and a target of frequent Soviet attacks.

Ukrainskyy Samostiynyk (Ukrainian Independent), the monthly organ of the splinter group, OUNz, publishes articles and commentaries of a political nature which are influenced to a large extent by ZP/UHVR.

The English-language monthly Digest of the Soviet Ukrainian Press serves as partial cover for Prolog's clandestine activities. Complimentary and promotional copies are sent to various U.S. and European government agencies and institutional

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libraries. This publication is a low-cost by-product and is the only digest of the Soviet Ukrainian press available.

A monthly French-language edition of the Digest, Echos d'Ukraine, is published by ZP/UHVR's representative in Paris and is distributed to French-speaking areas in Africa and South America.

The Ukrainian-language Information Bulletin is published about six times a year and mailed to Soviet Ukrainians. Prolog also publishes books and pamphlets in the Ukrainian language on topics such as underground or suppressed literature and Soviet distortions of Ukrainian history, which it mails and distributes by hand to Soviets, usually travelers and officials in the West. Copies are also sold in the West.

4. PROPOSAL:

a. All publications will be produced outside the U.S. with no attribution to U.S. based activities. Prolog activities will overtly be based on its organization in Munich, Germany. Funding will be conducted through covert European channels. Prolog, Inc. of New York will be dissolved. The name Prolog with a European address, probably in Germany, will be used on certain publications. Prolog members who are American citizens and who would remain in the U.S. will receive their salaries from Europe. Contact with Soviet citizens in the U.S. and other countries by Prolog members and collaborators will continue with close monitoring by FBI and CIA respectively.

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b. Security and Risks. Prolog administrators are the charter members of the ZP/UHVR. The group has not admitted into its inner circle anyone who arrived in the West after 1945, in order to preclude penetration of the organization by Soviet intelligence. The Foreign Secretary of the UHVR and President of Prolog, CIA's principal agent, has conducted Prolog's activities on a strictly need-to-know basis. The total number of employees in both the New York and Munich offices is fourteen. Nine are witting of U.S. Government involvement. Although the rest have never been told of such involvement, it must be realized that they would assume, after years of collaboration, that it exists. Prolog has been attacked by Soviet authorities on many occasions over the past year as being a "lackey" of Western imperialists; in the spring of 1967 they alleged that Prolog was financed by CIA. They have never been able to produce any documentary evidence.

In the U.S., right-wing Ukrainians in the UCCA (Ukrainian Congress Committee of America), have also denounced Prolog and its leader as soft on communism and as CIA tools. CIA has never supported the UCCA.

5. PROLOG'S PUBLICATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES: All of Prolog's periodicals, with the exception of the English-language press digest, are published in Europe. Under the European-based reorganization, books will be published and distributed exclusively from Europe, as the periodicals are now. A certain amount of spillover to the U.S. is inevitable. The U.S. and Canada have by far the largest numbers of Ukrainian immigrants in the world

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and their interest is widespread. The modest size of printings, however, insures that the copies distributed through commercial channels in the U.S. can never number larger than a few hundred of any one item. No effort or expense will be expended in the future to push sales in the U.S. The Digest of the Soviet Ukrainian press will not be published in the U.S. in the future. Prolog may try to publish it from Europe, at least for certain libraries, research institutes and scholars.

6. COORDINATION: The Deputy Assistant Secretary for European Affairs of the Department of State concurs. The FBI is aware of CIA support to Prolog. Prolog collaborators in the U.S. who contact Soviet diplomatic and United Nations personnel are either advised to report their contacts to the FBI or such contact is coordinated through CIA. The Ambassador in Prolog's new residence, probably Germany, will be briefed. German intelligence officers have been made aware of CIA sponsorship of the Prolog organization and its activities in Munich.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS: CIA recommends that the 303 Committee approve continuation of the CIA relationship, support and direction of Prolog's activities and, in principle, the plan outlined above to relocate its activities in Europe. It is also recommended that the 303 Committee take note of the fact that Prolog publications find a limited market in the U.S.